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Groups of families from several neighboring localities meet for the performance of a ŋillatun. Quoting a 33-year-old Coñaripe man on whose land the ŋillatun is held: "Mapuche settlements in our vicinity, that is on this side of the Argentine line, that celebrate the ŋillatun somewhere, jointly with the others, are Coñaripe, Llanchahue, Pucura, Pullinque, Tracapulli, Kayumapu, Koiweku, Koskos, Lonkon, Reweku, Kariline, Kikine, Karango, Huechulafken, Limai. Two or three of these localities join to celebrate the ŋillatun—one locality decides to hold a ŋillatun, and then invites one or two others." For Panguipulli area the ceremonial had been held in three places between January 17 and 31, 1947, namely in Shoshuenco, Huitag, and Payahuinte. The families from neighboring settlements had attended each celebration.

The ŋillatun is always conducted on a grassy plot, usually in a glade, reserved for the purpose; for Alepúe area this plot is in Maiquillahue, "the most level pampa in the area." "I have noticed," said a non-Araucanian, "that the Mapuche do not utilize this plot for any other purpose; it is never plowed under, nor are animals grazed on it." Quoting a Coñaripe man: "The ŋillatun for Coñaripe is held on my land; it was held there when my grandfather and my father owned the land. It is because of this tradition that it is so difficult for me to refuse to let the people hold it there. Every year during its celebration, there is damage done to my wheat in the adjoining field, and to my fences, also. I have often complained about this. I myself do not believe in the ŋillatun, nor do many other young people, but we respect it as the religion of our old people who have faith in it, and who encourage its continuance. We attend because we can renew acquaintances and visit, and there is much good food to eat, too!"

The leader of the ŋillatun announces the date for the celebration and sends out summons to the people through men who assist him in the ceremonial; informants called them captains and sergeants. In Alepúe area, the cacique is the leader; in Coñaripe and Panguipulli areas, he is a person known as ŋenpin, and, when spoken of in Spanish, as prophet. In no area did the machi have duties of leadership in the ŋillatun by virtue of his status; in fact, a machi was not allowed to be the leader. The ŋenpin, according to Félix José (1916, vol. 1, pp. 55-56), is the person who leads the prayer and delivers orations in the ŋillatun for all present, and directs the activities connected with the sacrifices of the entire group, as well as the individual sacrifices offered by each family; one can consider the ŋenpin as a class of priests although they do not ordinarily slaughter the animal to be sacrificed. My informants noted that the prophet inherits his position from

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his father. "The one in Cofiaripe is a man 50 years old; his father was the prophet before him. When the father died, this son did not want to be the prophet, but the people acclaimed him to be one, unanimously. Always someone in the same family is to be the prophet." The prophet does not dream to become one, nor is there any training or initiation given him.

Each family prepares food needed for the days at the ŋillatun before leaving home. "I remember well with what interest my grandfather prepared to go to the ŋillatun. Today, still, every family all around here slaughters a sheep to take along as food." The father slaughters the sheep, or if he is dead, the oldest person in the household will do so; usually this is the mother. Whoever slaughters it sprinkles the yard of the ruka with the steaming blood of the sheep as he walks about the yard saying a prayer. A twig is used in sprinkling. Tortillas to be used as a sacrificial offering are baked without salt, yeast, or grease. When so baked, they are called marew ekull. These tortillas are taken to the ŋillatun and so are ollas filled with mudai. No intoxicating liquor, such as chicha, is drunk at the ŋillatun.

On the opening day—or the day previous, if the distance requires it—families set out for the celebration. Those from a distance come on horseback, each man blowing his pifəlka almost continuously as he rides along. (See pl. 32 for pifəlka.) "Not long ago, when the ŋillatun was held here [Cofiaripe], we could hear the shrill sounds of the pifəlka from here and there and there [pointing in various directions] as the families in the Cordillera came down the mountains. Those who wish to make a family sacrifice will bring a hen; an occasional family brings a sheep; sometimes a group of families from a locality make a joint sacrifice of a sheep. When this is done, the sheep is brought to one of the leaders of that locality, and he brings it to the ŋillatun."

All members of a family attend the ŋillatun, except the sick and someone who stays home to guard the ruka, usually one or two children. In December 1946, in Cofiaripe, there were 500 to 600 men, women, and children present. Nearly everyone comes and brings all the dogs but one, which stays home with the children to guard the house. A child who stays home the first day is allowed to attend the following day, when another one must stay home. Even skeptical persons attend. "I always attend," said one, "and so do my parents, but we do not participate in the ceremony nor do we drink any of the sacrificial mudai—it is often no good anyway! I believe that those who attend can be classified into three groups: those who merely come to

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lineage to which he belongs. The sublineages themselves have their own elders whom they respect and whose leadership they tend to follow, at least in critical times.

In sublineage C there are three brothers who bear the surname[6] of the founder of the maximal lineage, Huentemil. They live in adjacent houses in the southern, most recently cleared part of the reservation and have holdings of about 15 hectares each. Transito is allied politically (that is, belongs to the same *indigenista* party) with the chief, and is opposed to *división*, yet he is not especially friendly to the chief. In intrareservational matters, Transito is more closely aligned with the other branch of Alonso's sublineage. His political position is understandable because he has more land at present than most other families and cannot improve his situation through division of the reservation into severalty holdings. He might stand to lose some of his land in the apportionment, and he would eventually have to pay taxes on it after the protective features of the reservation system had been dispensed with. The Huentemil brothers comprise the most tightly knit suprahousehold group on the reservation. They cooperate in large-scale subsistence activities, take the same position with regard to maintaining the reservation system, and share in a prosperity achieved by few other families in the community. Juan and Ramón are full brothers; Transito is the son of the father's first wife. Their father died a few years ago, at which time the land was formally split into three almost equal lots, according to the terms of the inheritance.

The other large sublineage is that of Curihuinca, F on the diagram. The households are not juxtaposed as are those of the other groups just mentioned. The various segments are on good terms, however, but economic cooperation among them is minimal. Bernardo moved into the southwest corner of the reservation when land became scarce in the northwest corner, where his brothers have remained. The Curihuincas, maintaining that they live on "ancestral land" in the northwest corner, feel that they are more closely related to the founding Huentemil than most other families,[7] a belief which is accepted by

[6] The general use of surnames among the Mapuche is a relatively recent development, a borrowing from Chilean-Spanish custom. The absence of this practice several generations ago surely contributes to Mapuche forgetfulness about consanguineal ties with other reservations in the region.

[7] One of the Curihuincas is a ritual priest of the community, a position ideally held by the chief. This indicates that their claim is possibly valid. It is taken seriously by most members of the reservation, in any case. It also correlates with weak chieftainship, since José, the chief, is not a ritual specialist.

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plication of a Supreme Being, *ñenechen*. Religious activity as observed in funeral rights centers on a concern with authentic ancestral spirits, for the most part, and supplication of *ñenechen*. Fertility rites are directed mainly, except for the first day of the ceremony and occasionally thereafter, to mythical ancestors, regional gods, and *ñenechen*. Both ceremonies rest on lineage-based obligations, but both involve the attendance of nonrelated groups; the host group and the guests, taken together, comprise the ritual congregation. This congregation has a core membership which is more or less invariable year in and year out. A major concern of the congregation during any ritual assemblage is counteracting the forces of evil, collectively called *wekufe*, and the human embodiment of evil, the sorcerer-witch who is called *kalku*.

The persons who are most intimately concerned with restraining evil and who are most competent to perform on behalf of the living are the *ñillatufe* or ritual priest who represents the people in *ñillatun* ceremonies, the several *weupin* or orators who represent the patrilineages of the deceased and the surviving spouse or other relatives in the funeral service, and the *machi* or shaman who sometimes acts as a functionary during *ñillatun*, in the absence of a ritually competent *ñillatufe*, but whose main task is curing clients of supernaturally induced illness.

The *ñillatufe* and *weupin* have no special powers of their own and act only as ritually proficient intercessors for the assemblage. The shaman is powerful in her own right and is the single member of any community who is so continually preoccupied with the eternal struggle between the forces of good and evil. She stages a curing performance which is quite theatrical and admittedly calculated to impress her patient and observers with her powers. Her paraphernalia includes a drum (*kultrun*) and specially decorated stick, a gourd rattle or one of silver bells, and numerous special herbs. She blows smoke over the patient's body, makes water aspersions, sucks out intrusive objects from affected parts of the body, and so forth. She often becomes possessed by a familiar spirit which "speaks" in a special language through the *machi* to her helper (*thungulmachin*). *Machi* who are adept at ventriloquism are able to throw their "spirit" voices to all corners of the hut, creating an atmosphere of awesome mystery which grips the attention of those assembled. By definition, a *machi* enlists the forces of good to combat evil in behalf of the people. Nevertheless, the fact that she has personal contact with the forces of evil,

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that she enters into the supernatural world and grapples with evil spirits, sometimes causes people to fear particular *machi* as potential evildoers themselves, as capable and suspected of practicing sorcery. While shamans are obviously important agents through whom individual Mapuche deal with the supernatural, they usually do not operate at the level of social action in which the ritual congregation is involved as a moral community. Therefore, I defer an analysis of shamanism to a future monograph, concerning myself here with a discussion of community-based ritual.

The most important ceremonies in which the ritual congregation is involved are *ñillatun* and *awn*. *Ñillatun* is an agricultural fertility rite which is generally held in the preharvest season, to supplicate the powers that be to insure the production of crops, animals, and the prosperity and well-being of the Mapuche. It is also held in the postharvest season to give thanks, to ask for continued protection from the forces of evil, and sometimes to register complaints concerning poor crops or the loss of animals. Special attention is given the spirits of departed chiefs who walk in the company of sons of the gods and who are called upon to intercede before *ñenechen* and the pantheon on behalf of the people. Regional deities such as god and goddess of the Southwind (*huillifucha* and *huillikushe*) are supplicated to restrain their forces, or *ñenechen* is asked to restrain these. *Ñillatun* is always held on a well-demarcated and traditional ceremonial field on the host reservation. Where tradition is remembered, there is a mythical account of the special connection between this sacred place and the dominant lineage of the host reservation.

When the appropriate season of the year draws near, one of a set of reservations engages in preparations for the staging of a *ñillatun* ceremony. The set of reservations, very often a triad, celebrates *ñillatun* annually, at least ideally. One of the set is considered the host unit on successive occasions, the others participating as *responsible* members (as distinguished from mere participants) of the set. The leadership of these ceremonies is vested specifically in the *ñillatufe*, ideally a chief of one of the set of reservations, a person in whom are integrated the roles of elder of the dominant lineage of the host reservation, and priest of the host group. These roles are only analytically separable as are the statuses involved. Together they comprise a status and role set which serves to perpetuate the office of reservation chief.

This set of reservations forms the nucleus of most responsible units involved in any single *ñillatun* celebration. Invitations are extended

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deceased by attenuated affinal bonds. This is generally a group which was brought into a marriage relationship several generations ago, through a polygynous union that was contracted outside the neighborhood, and one which has not been revalidated and sustained into the present by virtue of a continuation of wife-giving and wife-receiving relationships. The Mapuche rationale for this belief is that patrilineal kinsmen and affinal groups in sustained relationship are largely above suspicion of the practice of homicidal sorcery against one another. In addition, it is felt that total strangers would lack a motive for engaging in such supernatural action, that a stranger would gain no advantage through sorcery. By elimination, this leaves "interested" persons, relatives who stand in the attenuated relationship described and who might harbor resentment.

All participants as well as observers are repeatedly invited to dance around the ceremonial altar during *ñillatun* and any male may ride with the troop which gallops around the perimeter of the ceremonial field in order to help chase away evil spirits which lurk nearby. Likewise, any member of the congregation who owns a flute (*pifülka*) or drum (*kultrun*) is able to play his instrument during ritual dances. At the highest level of responsible participation stand the *ñillatufe* from the core reservations. They are instrumental in effecting a successful performance through the ritual assistance they lend the *ñillatufe* of the host reservation. Also, there are "captains" and "sergeants" who are responsible for relaying the orders of the *ñillatufe* to the throng, calling them forth to dance, to ride, and regulating the tempo of the dances, kindling the sacrificial fires and placing meat on the altar, and maintaining general order and respect throughout the long ceremony. The delegation of responsibilities throughout the participant groups results in a truly collective representation of the moral community on all occasions of *ñillatun*. People both desire and feel obligated, before their ancestors and the community, to accept ritual responsibility.

With regard to considerations of desirability and moral compulsion much the same may be said of the groups which participate in funeral ceremonies as those taking part in *ñillatun*. Members of the funeral assemblage, although the core group is not necessarily the same on successive occasions, are at the same time members of the ritual congregation which celebrates *ñillatun* on a regular annual basis. *Awn* or funeral rites are held on the occasion of the death of any member of the ritual congregation. They are held for the purpose of insuring

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The Mapuche speak of change, welcome certain innovations, bemoan losses. Yet they think, talk, and act in a manner different from white Chileans. They regard themselves as a different "race," as belonging to a congeries of small reservation communities which group into regions and which, in their totality, constitute Mapuche society. The things which make them distinctive today have made them so at least since the effects of the present reservation policy began to be felt after 1884.[2]

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A people who have been in sustained and often violent contact with a colonial power for several centuries could hardly be expected to have maintained a "stable equilibrium" throughout this period. But in order to have preserved an undeniable distinctiveness into modern times, some measure of social integration has been necessary. Social structures are not short-lived. Subjected to the cataclysmic force of warfare, the Mapuche weathered it for centuries. Final defeat and pacification brought additional structural modifications when the Mapuche became settled on small, fixed holdings in an area they once were able to roam at large.

During the reservation period there has been a good deal of change, but not much "breakdown" in the sense alluded to above, except where "obliteration" of Mapuche communities has occurred through sale or usurpation of reservation land. In itself, the disappearance of any single community segment does not imply structural change in Mapuche society. The sustained relationships among large blocks of reservations, as in Cautín Province, are not appreciably affected by the piecemeal withdrawal of a few communities.

Nevertheless, where reservations remain intact, structural adjustments have taken place. Political power, vis-á-vis the Chilean government, has tended to slip from the hands of chiefs, but a different authority structure has come into being—other Mapuche leaders have arisen to deal with the government, and the chief as priest has acquired added stature with respect to his integrative role in the ritual congregation. Multifamily households are not as common as formerly, but stable localized lineages have developed, have increased in size and corporate importance. The segments of these are functionally similar in many respects to the *lofche* households of the past even though they no longer comprise single domiciliary units.

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[2] It might be argued that 1866 would be a better base line, the year when the first large-scale system of reservations was inaugurated. However, the Mapuche staged two major rebellions between that time and their final pacification, and marshaled a politico-military effectiveness they no longer have.

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(*ñekurewen*) connected with their own "society." The ritual priest (*ñillatufe*) performs on behalf of the congregation during the large, public *ñillatun*, usually in the dual role of chief of a reservation community and head of the dominant lineage thereon; but a smaller family group may also hold a *ñillatun* (which I regard as a prereservation practice) in which prayers are offered to the panthcon and to ancestral spirits by a household leader who, in most cases, is head of a sublineage or a subordinate lineage, but who, in any case, is called *ñillatufe*. Implicit in these variations in ritual speciality and the nature of the congregation are interesting problems of social structure and function. While the Mapuche have made, and are apparently willing to continue making accommodations in their approach to problems involving their ancestral spirits and the *dramatis personae* of the supernatural world in general, they nevertheless visualize a rather well-defined set of piacular, supplicatory, and curative rites, each designed to suit a fairly specific situation and need.

III

The overall problem addressed in this monograph is the examination of certain Mapuche ritual expressions of morality in order to indicate as precisely as possible how, and to what extent, these beliefs and practices form an integral part of the cultural and social system. Therefore both relationship structures and the ideological or cultural framework in which these exist demand attention. A special and separate attempt to discover a fundamental relation between the structure of symbolic values and the social structure will be made in Chapter Four.

My position with regard to the structure of Mapuche morality has been influenced especially by the writings of Durkheim, van Gennep, Hertz, Mauss, Radcliffe-Brown, Evans-Pritchard, and their intellectual heirs, men who have concerned themselves with moral systems and their ritual expression as problems to be handled in the context of institutionalized social relationships. On the other hand, it is diametrically opposed to the position expressed, for example, by Herskovits, who wrote:

> *Social institutions may be broadly interpreted to include economic and political orientations as well as those based on*

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777 782 the like is not attributed to any specific force of evil, but rather to a pervading malevolence and a feeling that *ñenechen* has been insufficiently or imperfectly propitiated. There is a partial acceptance of hardship and an attempt to supplicate *ñenechen* in public ceremonial, in order to control the machinations of the collective *wekufe*, generalized evil. Failure of ceremonial appeal may result in some diminution of faith in the efficacy of the priest (*ñillatufe*) who conducts the ritual, but it does not seem to lessen belief in the general body of religious lore and ritual action. If anything, it seems to heighten concern with sorcery and the forces of evil that plague humanity. The failure of public ritual in some cases encourages persons to seek additional individual protection through shamanistic assistance.

[771] [793] [754] [789]

776 775 *Wekufe* is the generic term for all malevolent spirits and forces in the world. As a descriptive device, since the Mapuche do not order as much as they lump these forces of evil, they may be categorized as animistic and placed into three groups: animals, natural phenomena, and ghosts. Any evil spirit has the power, or is able through the manipulation of a *kalku*, to assume the form of a being representative of any of the three groups, and to make itself visible and invisible at will. These spirits or forces are abroad mostly at night, although they may be active in the daytime as well. They are all at some time or other under the control of a sorcerer, but if mistreated they have enough power of their own to operate freely against her, should she be off-guard. They may even be able to kill her. Although there is a general feeling that witches never die, there is the contradictory notion that they may be killed through the agency of the forces they have failed to control. Shamans may thwart the designs of witches, but they are seldom felt to have enough power to kill them, that is, make a witch's familiar spirits consume her. After all the bits of data are sifted, Mapuche logic forces the conclusion that the only way a *kalku* may die, without being killed by a rebellious spirit, is to be executed by a human with the consent of a local descent group. But even with regard to this matter there is not complete agreement, some Mapuche feeling that only the corporeal part of the witch is destroyed, while the evil soul remains to cause grief elsewhere. Formerly, as described in the literature and in oral accounts, witches were

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796 I have stressed the priestly function of ñillatufe, the sacrificial
• 793 offerings to god and the ancestors, and the supplicatory nature
956 of prayer, rather than the role of the shaman, the manipulation of her familiar spirits, and the somewhat greater coercive aspect of her activities. This is because most of the ceremonies I witnessed were conducted in the manner described. Only once did I see a *machi* take nearly full charge of a *ñillatun*, and the difference in the shamanistic performance and the priestly ritual was considerable. In my opinion, the *machi* has achieved her status as participant in *ñillatun* ceremonies largely by default, largely because of a growing scarcity of competent *ñillatufe* in the face of a growing population and a continued need for *ñillatun*.

114 *The Shaman and the Priest.* Titiev has pointed out that
793 early writers do not agree "even on so fundamental a point as
956 the role played by a machi" in the *ñillatun* organization (1951:
796 130). The discussion that follows is offered as a hypothesis about the development of the role of the *machi* on one hand and that of the ritual priest (*ñillatufe*) on the other. It is a plausible historical reconstruction which may be of some help in understanding the *machi*'s role in public fertility rites. It is not, however, necessary to an understanding of the structure of contemporary Mapuche society, the importance of *ñillatun*, or the significance of the ritual congregation in the scheme of Mapuche morality. Nevertheless, it is relevant to the development of the modern ritual community.

796 There is always a head man at a *ñillatun* ceremony. Ideally,
622 the chief of the host reservation is head man. If not a chief, the
[613] head man is always a lineage elder, and almost always an elder of the dominant lineage. He operates with the support of peers of the other lineage segments on his reservation and elders from other reservations in the ritual congregation. In multi-reservational *ñillatun* (which includes the vast majority of these ceremonies) the head man is always a chief, and the most important functionaries are chiefs from participating reservations.

796 If the chief conducts the ceremony, he is, *ipso facto*, the
622 *ñillatufe*. The host reservation feels strongly that its chief should
793 be *ñillatufe*, a person who has been instructed in the ritual and who has committed to memory traditional prayers in the archaic ritual language. But, at the larger ceremonies in which a number

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of reservations cooperate to hold *ñillatun*, it is sufficient that any one of the chiefs knows the ritual prayers and is able to organize the activities. Within the congregation, there is always at least one chief who performs as *ñillatufe*, even though his reservation might not be the host of any particular ceremony. It sometimes happens that none of the chiefs is fully capable in ritual performance to carry the entire load of ceremonial responsibility; and, although it is rare, sometimes a *ñillatufe* from another congregational unit will be called in. Usually, a reservation chief will perform the best he knows how, relying on the services of a *machi* to supplement his own lack of supernatural lore. Using a *machi* is always a communal decision.

Any man who officiates in a priestly role is called *ñillatufe*, regardless of whether he is capable of performing the entire ceremony himself or whether he needs the services of a *machi*. If a *ñillatufe*'s knowledge is considered inadequate to the purpose, the most common adjustment is to bolster his ability by calling in a shaman. His lack of ability is determined in council, by concensus of the elders of his and participating reservations, on the basis of his success or failure in previous ceremonies.

Félix José de Augusta and Moesbach were convinced that shamans did not participate in *ñillatun* ceremonies. Guevara wrote that they sometimes participated. It is likely that Félix José and Moesbach merely failed to witness such performance, but that shamans were active in *ñillatun* ceremonies at the time when they were compiling their ethnographic material. Guevara's testimony seems to indicate this. He wrote:

> Con anterioridad han sido designados para ofrecer el sacrificio propiciatario de los corderos, algunos hombres esperimentados, caciques por lo común, que en el ritual del ngillatun se conocen con el nombre de ngillatufe.
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> . . . . . .
>
> Entra entonces en acción la machi, si es una, i todas si son varias (1898:440).

What Guevara did not say is that there were also *ñillatun* in which *machi* did not participate at all, although such is clearly implied in his remarks. He argued at length about the connection between the *ñillatun* and ancestor worship, as did Latcham,

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in the unfortunate evolutionary vogue of his time. While none of his arguments concerning the development of ancestor worship is especially convincing or subject to verification, I feel that his observations about the inclusion of prayers to ancestors in *ñillatun* rites must be taken at face value. These prayers remain an important feature of *ñillatun* today, but it is likely that they were the main theme and the principal reason for its performance around the time Guevara wrote, during the early reservation period.

On this point, Guevara's statement is illuminating: "Hasta pocos años los indios celebraban un ngillatun particular, ordinariamente de una familia" (1898:440). In the celebration of this family ritual, ancestors were propitiated, but it is unclear whether or not the ancestors were particular, authentic ancestors of the family group or generalized forebears of regional populations. The former was likely the case. I feel that generalized ancestors became venerated in this way only after localized lineages developed and their membership increased, i.e. during the reservation period. Lineage depth increased, ritual congregations became defined according to participating reservational memberships, and local ancestor-gods emerged in a socially significant way. It is strange that Guevara should have written, "hasta pocos años"—the Mapuche had small, family-based rituals called *ñillatun*—for they do to this day. It is possible that Guevara was merely emphasizing the fact that ceremonial assemblages had increased in size by his time, and that they had become more complex than anything described for prereservation times, for he also says: "A veces el ngillatun assume grandes proporciones, porque lo acuerdan i llevan a cabo tres o cuatro grupos, es decir, una zona entera" (1898:440).

At the small, family-based *ñillatun* there was no officiating *machi*, nor is there one today. When describing the larger ceremonies, Guevara conceded that *machi* may participate. He never mentioned, however, that they dealt with spirits ancestral to the participating groups; nor do they today.

Today, a *machi* always shares ritual functions with an authorized *ñillatufe*, on the occasions in which she participates at all. If there is no need for her services, she is not called in. A *machi* is not extended an invitation to perform simply because

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she may be available, at least not the sort of invitation which entitles her to perform as a ritual specialist in the celebration. In all cases, therefore, even when the ritual skills of the *ñillatufe* are wanting, there is a head man called *ñillatufe;* the *machi's* activities are always supplementary to his.

If a *machi* is asked to officiate and to carry out most of the ritual procedure, the ceremony takes a shamanistic rather than a priestly turn. Titiev has described two *ñillatun* in which *machi* were the main functionaries, although chiefs were also present. I have nothing to add to Titiev's description in general, but I should like to comment on the performance of a shaman I saw in action at one of these ceremonies. In one instance, the shaman threw her voice with such success that a large part of the audience turned away from the *rewe,* where she performed, apparently expecting to see the spirit with which the *machi* was supposed to be communicating. A second occurrence which startled the crowd was the "stabbing" of the *machi* by her helper. The assistant made repeated thrusts with a knife, and finally appeared to drive it into the *machi's* breast. The blade, it was realized afterwards, merely got caught in her flowing shawl. But the dexterity with which the maneuver was accomplished left many of the spectators gasping with surprise. It was explained to me that the action was taken to drive out any evil spirits that might have attempted to enter the *machi* during her possession. It was a theatrical performance, of high quality by any standards, which distinguishes the shaman from the ritual priest.

My belief is that whatever prominence *machi* have attained in *ñillatun* ceremonies, it is in proportion to loss of ritual knowledge and the decline in the number of competent *ñillatufe* throughout Mapucheland. They have acquired importance in fertility rites by default. They are introduced into this stately ceremony to compensate for gaps in ritual knowledge; but they act as shamans, as grapplers with the supernatural forces, not as priests who deal in studied ritual. While both shaman and priest deal with spirits, the shaman manipulates her own familiars and is customarily possessed by them, and is also attacked by evil spirits. The priest is representative of a community before its ancestors, is not possessed, does not grapple with the forces of

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796 evil directly. The shaman is called upon to serve at *ñillatun*
793 mainly because she is considered a specialist who deals with the
756 spirit world. She does not know *ñillatun* ritual, is not familiar
182 with the special language used in *ñillatun* orations; but she can drive away evil spirits. She concentrates on the *awn* performances and adds her special knowledge, at which times her life is usually at stake in directly combatting the forces of evil.

793 A final point in distinguishing shaman from priest is the
756 matter of payment. A *ñillatufe* is not paid for his performance,
465 but is, as a rule, a heavy contributor himself. He may receive
431 gifts of food from most of the families present, but these he redistributes immediately, generally by asking people who visit his *ramada* to share them with him. The shaman is always paid. She negotiates payment with the council of elders even before the ceremony is arranged. Most of her payment is in food and drink, and she does not redistribute these gifts, but takes them with her to her home.

793 I have heard some cynical Mapuche say that shamans
756 instigate *ñillatun* merely so that they might receive rich pay-
465 ment; also, that *ñillatufe* are sometimes reluctant to hold *ñillatun* frequently because they do not want to make their customary contributions. Be that as it may, the priest-chief or *ñillatufe* is a deeply responsible person, who operates within the well-defined sphere of kinship rights and obligations, as these are extended to the ritual congregation. The shaman is a paid professional, called upon to compensate for gaps in ritual knowledge. She operates where chieftainship or ritual skills are weakening. While she certainly takes great pride in her ability, she is primarily interested in receiving payment for it, and she is in no case able to deal successfully with the ancestral spirits of the group which enlists her services. Her presence at *ñillatun* is, therefore, an anomaly in the sense described.

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794 769 613 time chiefs, who are powerful and beneficent spirits interested in the well-being of all members of the congregation, despite the lack of lineal ties between reservations comprising the moral community. It seems precisely this conception of ancestral responsibility which has resulted in certain ancestors (again, mainly chiefs) of the participating lineages having become generalized ancestral deities in any given congregational sphere. They are propitiated by patrilineally unrelated members of the ritual congregation who believe they have the welfare of the entire congregation at heart. These are the ancestors who walk with the sons of the gods.

794 793 [622] [613] [756] Each host reservation ideally has its own priest (*ñillatufe*), who is usually the chief, an elder of the dominant lineage. In the absence of a priest, some accommodation is made. I have mentioned the place of the *machi* in such circumstances. Another accommodation is for the host reservation to invite a *ñillatufe* from a participant reservation to officiate. When there are two or more reservations in a congregational nucleus, it presents little or no difficulty to use the chief or *ñillatufe* from another segment of the core unit.

793 794 622 769 A significant feature of each reservation having its own priest-chief is that such a figure symbolizes the connection between the living and the ancestor-gods, the chief constituting the connecting link in a chain of mutual though asymmetrical responsibilities. Each reservation in a responsible unit ideally supplies its own priest-chief who lends assistance to the *ñillatufe* of the host reservation and who, verbally on several occasions and symbolically during all phases of the ceremony, represents his group by making orations and food offerings to ancestral spirits. Still, I cannot emphasize too much that this concern with authentic ancestral spirits is not the principal concern of the *ñillatun* assemblage. The chiefs call upon the ancestors of their lineages, the elders of subordinate lineages doing likewise on the same occasions and in the same manner; but the chief, as representative of a multilineage reservation community and as one of several leaders of the ritual congregation, also invokes the generalized, mythical ancestral figures common to the entire ritual community. This serves partly to symbolize his political

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role and at the same enhances (or at least serves to maintain) his political status.

It is of interest to consider the part played by in-married women in *fiillatun* ceremonies. I am not referring to the occasional participation of a *machi*, although I might mention that in no instance may she be a lineal member of the host group, for this would jeopardize the ancestral spirits of the hosts. Nor do *machi* have as familiars spirits other than those on the order of a grandmother's or great-grandmother's spirit. These familiars may or may not be ancestral to other lineages in the congregation. Since *machi* tend to marry outside the patterned matrilateral system, the risk of their dealing with spirits of importance to the ritual congregation is slight. In any case, the *machi* represents her reservation as a community without special consideration of lineage membership.

With respect to most in-married women, it may be said that their ritual roles are commensurate with their marriage links with the most responsible males of the reservation. They may have important roles in the preparation and serving of food to special guests, they may be leaders in the various ritual dances; or they may have simpler roles, such as preparing food only for their household and immediate relatives or participating in one or more dances simply as followers. Their presence, however, is demanded. Upon marriage, they receive the right to participate as responsible members of the reservation community and, thereafter, participation is obligatory. That obligation is attached to their being members of a community (and a ritual congregation), not as members of any of the lineages therein. It is significant that in-married women are excluded from preliminary rites, in which lineage ancestors are propitiated, and in which they have little or no stake. Still, in-married women must participate in the general *fiillatun* ceremony, and regularly. If they express a desire not to attend regularly, it is possible that they will be labelled *kalku*.

One effect of the extension of these performance rights to in-married women is that all lineages on any reservation are, through in-married women alone, amalgamated into a single ritual entity. This feature supports the ritual bond which is felt

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and expressed in other ways by the several lineages on any multilineage reservation. Women enjoy this responsible status only by virtue of their marriage to members of the reservation community. To the extent that they may be said to comprise a corporate group on these occasions of ritual performance, it is contingent only on their marriage ties to the group of responsible males of the community, which indicates, however, an interesting and important connection between marriage ties and the ritual expression of moral obligation. To the extent that marriage ties between reservations correlate with ritual bonds, in-married women do not have to forsake their ancestral deities, but are able to observe their propitiation during the *ñillatun* ceremony. Viewed from the angle of the matrilateral marriage system, the structural significance of in-married women is apparent in the integration of the ritual congregation. I will have more to say about the lack of complete correspondence between congregational units and marriage alliance units later.

Role of Ñillatufe: *The Chief as Priest.* Lineages on any reservation, and reservations in any congregational core (e.g. A-B-C in Diagram II), are symbolically integrated into a functioning ritual entity through the offices of the priest-chief on each reservation. This person is chief by virtue of his position in the dominant lineage; he is priest by virtue of his training for the office of chief. Both positions constitute a dual status-role based on kinship and extended to the political and ritual spheres of social action, and both hinge on the fact that the chief occupies a pivotal position between the living and their most powerful ancestral spirits, the dead chiefs.

Chiefs who work together in any congregational unit during *ñillatun* represent their respective groups before their ancestors and the regional and pan-Mapuche gods. The chief is ideally the repository of accumulated ritual lore and ability. His ritual leadership is guaranteed by the political power vested in him as lineal heir of the founder of the dominant lineage on the reservation to which he belongs. He regulates the ritual cycle, with the agreement of elders among his constituents, important among whom are the leaders of the subordinate lineages. He participates in the regulation of the multi-reservational ritual cycle jointly with

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chiefs of other reservations within the responsible core, and this is expected of him by the members of his community. If a chief shirks this obligation, as occasionally happens when he is quite poor or does not care to make contributions, it is an affront to the ancestors and the gods. His constituents complain. If there seems some danger of breaking the ritual cycle, members of the linked reservations begin to grumble. Pressure is brought to bear on a recalcitrant chief by heads of subordinate lineages on his own reservation (his informal council) and by the chiefs of the linked reservations.

Elder of the dominant lineage, repository of ritual knowledge, responsible both to authentic and to mythical ancestors, spokesman for his entire community, the chief is the only person who is able to integrate the members of his reservation in concerted action and to represent them in the traditional manner in the ritual congregation. It is characteristic of being chief that ritual responsibility rests heavily with the position. The obverse side of this is that ordinary members of the community, who are not themselves elders, generally follow the chief's leadership in ritual matters without question, and often without full understanding or, at least, with apparently greater interest in the more festive as distinguished from the religious details of *ñillatun*.

The chief's ritual leadership among the contemporary Mapuche, more than any other single factor, bolsters his political leadership. It is doubtful that this state of affairs is a carry-over from prereservation times. Rather, only since the localization of the Mapuche in small agricultural communities has *ñillatun* involved such a large and heterogeneous congregationalism, and only since congregational development of this sort has taken place has the chief's political authority rested to such an extent on his role in public ritual. Formerly, it rested largely on his military ability, which enabled him to command allegiance in time of hostilities from a greater-than-kinship group.

The close and dependent relationship of the chief's political and ritual leadership to the integration of the reservation community is especially striking in contrast to its absence on reservations not having strong chiefs. These are the kinds studied by Titiev, which might partly account for the great

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182 793 574 531 62 622 [114] difference between his interpretation of Mapuche society and mine. Where strong chiefs are lacking, there is generally weak or marginal participation of the community in *ñillatun*, and the chief's role as ritual leader falls to the shaman. While I hesitate to conjecture about the priority of ritual or political weakness, they are without doubt mutually debilitating. The weak chief is ritually inept and has lost the confidence of his people as a ritual leader. Often he is uninterested in ritual and makes no claim to [628] [769] ritual leadership. The members of his reservation must look elsewhere, to the chiefs of other reservations, for leadership—to them a distasteful alternative because it means that their own authentic ancestors are only imperfectly propitiated during the *ñillatun*. Since the chief is the elder of the dominant lineage on [613] the reservation, it loses its control in ritual as well as in political affairs. Consequently, the reservation segments into its constituent households or, at least, into the several sublineages of the formerly dominant one and into subordinate lineages. Subordinate lineages then achieve an equal footing with the segments of the formerly dominant one. In the absence of political and ritual integration (the one implying the other), the reservation no longer forms a truly corporate community, and division of land into severalties often ensues. In this kind of [754] situation, witchcraft plays an eminently dysfunctional role.

182 584 62 622 793 794 The chief is not only a personage of great importance at the *ñillatun* ceremony, therefore, but he must continue to be of great ritual importance and pass his status more or less intact to his heir, if his reservation is to survive as a corporate community. This of course has great implications for the survival of the entire ritual congregation, and for Mapuche society as a whole. If the chief does not assume the role of *ñillatufe* (or if the ritual leadership is not entrusted to another elder of the dominant lineage), the *ñillatun* gradually becomes something else, and there are both political and ritual repercussions. The chief as priest has a powerful influence, therefore, in maintaining communal integrity, in the continuing integration of the ritual congregation, and in the overall structure of Mapuche morality. 571 796 182 181 The totality of relationship-acts forged in the *ñillatun* ceremony, is, perhaps more than any other single structure in Mapuche society, the configuration which distinguishes the Mapuche as a

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ancestral spirits during the preparatory phase of fertility ceremonies. Women are closely associated with sorcery, and are considered the most able sorcerers by virtue of being female, and, therefore, by analogy, may be placed on the black, cold, death-ridden side of the conceptual universe.

An interesting matter of the relativity of these sets of values centers at this point. It will be remembered that "male" shamans are not considered fully masculine by the Mapuche. Some are suspected of being homosexual, all or most dress in women's clothing during their performances, others are blind, crippled, or mentally unstable. All of these characteristics are nonmasculine and, furthermore, associated with the occult part of the universe of which sorcery is a part. (But this is not to say that shamans are viewed as aligned with the forces of evil. For the Mapuche, shaman-sorcerer comprises a logical set of complementary forces symbolizing, respectively, good and evil, with right and left associations.) It is inconsistent with Mapuche thought to include males in shamanistic roles, including the *thungulmachin* whose occult powers are not wholly masculine. Therefore, male practitioners are attributed female characteristics. The shaman is not the logical opposite of the ritual priest (*lilletufe*) in Mapuche thinking, even though shamans sometimes complement the activities of *lilletufe* in *lilletun*. The *lilletufe* has a quite different relationship to the supernatural than the shaman; he does not enter the spirit world but is tied to it formally, by virtue of birth in a particular patrilineal descent group and in the line of succession of chiefs. He is, therefore, at the same time political, lineal, and spiritual leader of the dominant lineage of his natal reservation, the group which is most closely responsible for the staging of *lilletun*, caring for invited participants and honored guests, and bearing heaviest moral responsibility for the successful enactment of the ceremony. The shaman has a quite different role.

The *kona-lonko* dichotomy also points up the relativity of these sets of complementary categories. *Lonko* (chiefs and other elders) are clearly in a socially superior position with respect to their male kinsmen. Formerly they exacted limited tribute and, even today, receive obligatory presents on certain ritual occasions. They are also accorded the privilege of attending wake

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undertake responsible participation in traditional ceremonies and that they look forward to participating. It is said that nobody goes to town when *ñillatun* or *ewn* are held within congregational boundaries.

This, again, is admittedly a gross measure, but it seems sufficient for system analysis in a relatively homogeneous society. But it is a tool too dull for the analysis of, say, the subtle psychological currents which might occur in an individual on such occasions. This matter cannot be discussed with authority, however, by any one who is not a trained psychologist and who is not thoroughly familiar with Mapuche society and culture as a total system impinging on the individual. With respect to the Mapuche, how do we know when enough individual responses reflect a cumulative departure from traditional beliefs and practices, when divergence began to be felt in the Mapuche heart, and, therefore, whether a number of similar affective states represent "change" or not, or change of what sort?

Let me give an example of this kind of difficulty. A "growing indifference" to traditional rituals has been noted among the Mapuche by anthropologists, missionaries, and lay persons. Ritual responsibilities are said to rest more and more with the shamans or the ritual priest. This judgment is made with respect to younger Mapuche, especially the men, about whom it is also said that there is a strong resistance to Christianity. My early impressions, colored by statements of this sort which I had read and heard, were that the younger generation was in a sort of spiritual limbo. But I have since come to favor another interpretation of this phenomenon, one which is entirely consistent with the Mapuche way of life. This is simply that young and even many middle-aged Mapuche are expected to allow the major ritual responsibilities to rest with the *ñillatufe* and/or the *machi*. This is the system, and it ties in with the notion that a man is not mature until married and forty-ish, after which time he begins to assume ritual responsibility. It is not until one matures that one is permitted to undertake grave ritual responsibility. Youthful "indifference" is not indifference at all, and in any case does not imply change, transition, or breakdown. Rather, this condition is entirely consistent with the rules and dominant motifs of Mapuche culture and society. To under-